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ABSTRACT

This paper defines a number of different segments in educational change processes: the internal, the external, and the personal. As a form of introduction, the paper reviews the patterns of educational coalition in the second half of the 20th century. For conceptualizing curriculum change in the 1970s, a model is developed that scrutinized the "internal affairs" of change and set this against the "external relations" of change. For instance, in looking at the subject-centered curriculum in secondary schools, the paper argues that school subjects passed through four stages as new changes were initiated: (1) invention or change formulation; (2) promotion or change implementation; (3) legislation or change policy establishment; and (4) mythologization or permanent change. Until the 1970s, change theory focused mostly upon the internally generated changes formulated and promoted by educator groups. Given the changing patterns of globalization and control that have intensified since 1989, the paper revisits this assumption and analyzes what patterns of educational change now prevail. And given the "changing conditions of change," a reformulated change model emerges in the paper in the following tentative form: change formulation; change promotion; change legislation; and change establishment. The paper contends that change models are required that systematically seek to integrate internal, external, and personal sectors in new "chains of change." It then tentatively defines such a model of change. (Contains 13 references.) (BT)

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Developing Chains of Change

Ivor F. Goodson

In a sense, educational change proposals resemble political parties. They represent a 'coalition' of interests and projects brought together under a common name at a particular point in time. The more harmonized these separate segments of projects and interests are, the more powerful the social movement behind the party or the educational change.

In this paper we have defined a number of different segments in educational change processes - the internal, the external and the personal. The more these segments are integrated and harmonized, the more likely the social movement underpinning educational change is to gather force and momentum. So, at certain times then, segments may be tightly interlinked and integrated. At other times a greater degree of separation might be evident, but even in periods of separation these segments stand in close relationship to one another.

Most commonly, one of the segments will achieve primacy in driving educational change in a particular historical period and will, in this sense, dominate the 'coalition of change' for a time. Hence, in the 1960s and 1970s, internal change agentry was often dominant in this way to be followed by a

period where more external interests have driven the change process. Now we may be about to enter a period where personal agency begins to gather force in a world where what Gidden's calls 'personal life politics' is increasingly powerful.

Change Processes and Historical Periods

As a form of introduction, let me review the patterns of educational coalition in the second half of the twentieth century. In the post-war period, the internal professional power of educators began a period of substantial growth. This period of 'cold war' between political ideologies set capitalist business values against systems of Communist production. In the west, egalitarian social policies were pursued and public education systems were heavily promoted as vehicles of common purpose and social good. Business values and the private sector lived in 'mixed economies', where public sectors provided a good deal of the 'public services' of national systems.

In this period, which lasted well into the 1970s even into the 1990's in some countries (for example Canada) educators were seen as having large amounts of professional autonomy. Much educational change was, at this time, left to internal educational experts - to initiate and define.

In these historical circumstances of substantial professional autonomy, change theory looked for the sources of initiation and promotion of change to the educator groups 'internal to the school systems'.

Internal Educational Change

In conceptionalising curriculum change in the 1970s, I developed a model which scrutinized the 'internal affairs' of change and set this against the 'external relations' of change. For instance, in looking at the changing subject-centered curriculum in secondary schools I argued that school subjects passed through four stages as new changes were initiated:

1) ***Invention*** or change ***formulation*** might come about from the ideas or activities of education groups, sometimes as a response to climates of opinion; or from inventions in the outside world (indirect external change forces); or in response to new intellectual directions and discipline, or new school student demands (more direct internal change forces).

   The development of stages in this change theory drew a good deal on Bucher and Strauss's work on how professions change (1976). They had argued that new change formulations, new ideas and inventions,

normally exist in several places over a period of time, but that only a few of these change formulations get taken up.

2) ***Promotion*** or change ***implementation***. In school curricula, new subjects will be taken up by educator groups and promoted 'where and when persons become interested in the new idea, not only as intellectual content, but also as a means of establishing a new intellectual identity and particularly a new occupational role'. (Ben-David and Collins, 1966.)

The response of craft teachers, science teachers and mathematics teachers to computer technology provides a case in point. Promotion of change arises from the perception of the possibilities of basic improvements in occupational role and status.

3) Legislation or change ***policy establishment***. Whilst changes were most often formulated, and initially implemented, by internal educator groups, their establishment and financial underwriting required the support of external *constituencies* or *policies* (Meter, 1977). Change legislation is associated with the development and maintenance of those discourses, or legitimating rhetoric's which provide automatic support

from external groups for the correctly labeled activity, whether it be 'science', or 'SAT scores', 'regents exams', or 'parental choice'.

4) Mythologisation or ***permanent change.*** Once external automatic support has been achieved for a change category, a fairly wide variety of activities can be undertaken. The limits of action under the new change policy are any activities which threaten the legitimating rhetoric and, hence, constituency support. Within their limits, the change is achieved and has become mythological, or taken for granted. It represents, essentially, a license that has been granted with the full force of the law and establishment behind it.

This instance of change theory provides an example of internally-generated change models. During the period following the second world war into the nineteen-seventies, as we have seen, public service provision was left a good deal in the hands of professional groups. In education, teachers and educationalists were left to initiate and promote educational change. Whilst, sometimes, these changes were responses to external stimuli, by and large, the development of external opinion came in the later stages of change establishment. Change was defined, initiated and promoted internally, and then had to win and sustain external support to ensure legislation and establishment. The external

relations of change, whilst chronologically secondary, always retained primacy when issues of sustainability and generalisability were confronted.

The External Relations of Change

In the period up until the 1970s, change theory focused most normally upon the internally generated changes formulated and promoted by educator groups. Given the changing patterns of globalization and control that have intensified since 1989, it is important to revisit this assumption and analyze what patterns of educational change now prevail.

I have argued elsewhere that internal change agents now face a ***crisis of positionality*** (Goodson, 1999), where the balance of change forces has now been substantially inverted. Given current patterns many of the changes that are being initiated and promoted can be clearly seen originating in external constituencies. In such a situation, internal change agents find themselves responding to, not initiating, changes. Often, then, instead of being progressive change agents, they take up the role of reluctant, even conservative, respondents to external initiated change. Since change is not their own defined mission, it is often seen as unwelcome and alien. The progressive internal change agent can become the conservative, reluctant,

change exponent of external wishes. This is the crisis of positionality for internal change exponents. The desires and drives, which make for change, have been taken from the internal agent's hands.

For these reasons, change theory has to develop the sense of history that I talked about earlier: when change was the internal mission of educators and external relations were developed later, educational goodwill and a sense of passion and purpose might be assumed. Now, the educator groups are less initiating agents or partners we have to develop a much more finely-tuned sensitivity to context, to the varied micro-climates and micro-politics of schools.

For this reason, Andy Hargreaves and I have been working on a new multi-site project examining change in American and Canadian schools. Our primary concern has been to analyze and historically compare the changing ***conditions of change***. Our methodology has, as a result, been both historical and ethnographic. (See Hargreaves 1994, 1999; Goodson 1995)

In the schools we are studying, we have developed a historical archive of the changes and reforms that have been attempted within the school. We have begun to see how educational change follows a series of cycles, not unlike that of the economy. Indeed, we begin to see how, just as Kongratiev argued,

economic change often went in long as well as short wave cycles - so too does educational change.

In these cycles, the powers of internal professional groups and external constituencies oscillate quite markedly and, in doing so, affects the change forces and associated change theories that we analyze and define.

Let me provide an example developed with Martha Foote as part of our ongoing Spencer study. According to archival and interview data, the idea of a 'School Without Walls', in Rochester, New York, was conceived in the late 1960s by an internal group of district teachers, students, and parents. These individuals had banded together in an attempt to develop alternative educational opportunities in the local public high schools, especially in response to a wave of school rioting and the subsequent efforts to clamp down on the student population. Specifically, this group believed that the key to learning lay not in more restrictive and punitive regulations in the traditional school setting. Instead, they advocated a greater student role in the development and maintenance of a flexible educational program that responded to individual student needs and encompassed the entire city landscape as a learning environment.

After a year of meetings, this internal group took its plan to the district, the Board of Education passed a resolution of authorization, and in September 1971, the 'School Without Walls' opened. Additionally, a junior high and an elementary school, each with its own non-traditional mission, opened in the district at the same time, and plans and materials were exchanged among all three. The change forces, then, had some of the features of a social movement as ideas were shared and disseminated among like-minded schools not only in Rochester, but throughout the United States as well.

As the years passed, SWW did negotiate, when necessary, with external constituencies in order to secure legitimacy and ensure its survival. For example, to meet state requirements for registration and approval, the school had to comply with state law regarding physical education and health instruction. It also had to concede to the use of Carnegie units as evidence of a legitimate academic program. Another time, when the district dictated an increase in math and science credits for graduation, the school was forced to tinker with its program. Yet, despite these changes, the school's overall integrity remained intact; it was allowed enough autonomy by the district and the state to continue to offer a non-traditional learning experience to its students. As the first program director wrote in a memo to staff (dated May 12, 1983):

> We have always approached program assessment and redesign from the standpoint of our beliefs, doing things because we felt they were right and not because everyone else was doing them. That has been the source of our strength and the basis of our success.

More recently, though, the patterns of change have begun to transform radically towards the pattern of inversion noted earlier; now the school primarily responds to change developed by external groups. The most immediate and pressing example of this switch can be seen in the school's response to the state's adoption of five standardized exams, the passage of which will be mandatory for graduation. These exams are the manifestation of the push for 'higher standards,' a push often spearheaded by the business sector and championed by the state commissioner of education. The school, though working tirelessly to secure a variance from the exams, has had to alter its curriculum and program to accommodate these external changes. Teachers are now forced to teach classes specifically geared to the content of these state exams, instead of classes that they believe are educationally sound. Students can no longer develop programs of study to meet their own individual needs as they must enroll in these test-driven classes. The school, founded as an alternative to the regulations of the traditional high school, is now a victim of these very dictums. As one teacher stated in an interview (October 1999):

> So the [state tests] are coming and I think it's a damn shame that that sense of autonomy, that ability to create your curriculum with high standards has to be thrown out every place by something that I think is artificial. It takes out the creativity of teaching and you're teaching to the test. Just the thought that I'm doing this is totally counter to what I believe, it really is, but you know, I'm a captive.... You're selling your soul to the devil.

The school is now challenged by the new mandate, pushed by the school board commissioners, to have students sit the Regents examination. This will transform the context and control of the school's curriculum and, in doing so, change the teaching/learning milieu. In the new change dispensation, change is externally mandated and only then internally negotiated.

Given the changing conditions of change, a combination of historical and ethnographic methods allows us to develop a contextually sensitive change theory. One theory arbitrates between the changing balance of external relations and internal affairs in different historical circumstances. In the current situation, our reformulated change model begins to emerge in the following tentative form:

a) ***Change formulation***. Educational changes are discussed in a variety of external arenas including business groups, associated think-tanks, new pressure groups like 'standards mean business', and a variety of

relatively newly formed parental groups. Often these changes resemble world movements that can be traced back to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Much of the change is driven by a belief that the marketisation of education and the delivery of educational services to parental 'consumers', who are free to choose and to bargain over their provision.

b) ***Change promotion*** is handled in a similar fashion by external groups with varied internal involvement. As Reid (1984) has written:

> external forces and structures emerge, not merely as sources of ideas, promptings, inducements and constraints, but as defines and carries the categories of content, role and activity to which the practice of schools must approximate in order to attract support and legitimation.

c) ***Change legislation*** provides the legal inducement for schools to follow externally mandated changes. In some countries, schools are evaluated by examination results, (which are published in league tables). Moves are underway to link teachers' pay to teachers' performance, in terms of students' examination results. Such legislation leads to a new regime of schooling, but allows the teachers to make some of their own responses, in terms of pedagogy and professionalism. Overall, school change policy and curricula, and assessment policy is, thereby,

legislated, but some professional autonomy (and new arenas for change) is developed. In certain countries (for example, Scandinavia) this is leading to progressive decentralization and a new push for new professional autonomy. Again, the world movements for change are historically refracted by national systems.

d) ***Change establishment***. Whilst external change has been established systematically and legally, the power resides mostly in the new *categorical* understandings of how schools operate - *delivering* mandated curriculum, being assessed and inspected, responding to choice and consumer demands. Much of the marketisation of schools is taken for granted now in many countries and, in that sense, has achieved mythological status.

New change forces then are primarily driven by external constituencies and have followed the seismic shifts of the last decade in promoting marketisation and globalization. But this is only the beginning of the story. As was noted earlier, schools are major repositories of social memory and their procedures, practices and professionalisms are historically embedded. New changes, therefore, confront what we might call 'contextual inertia' or 'social refraction'. Any change, which is sustained, will result from the collision of change forces with the historical context of schooling. This is why, to analyze

change sustainability, we have to understand the ***conditions of change***, and to do this we have to develop our historical and ethnographic studies. That is why this paper has argued so consistently for a sense of history in our analyses - not out of some obscure scholarly belief, but because, quite simply, we cannot pursue ***change sustainability*** without such understandings. Without context sensitivity, the new change forces may be shipwrecked in the collision with the hard sedimentary rocks of existing school context. Externally mandated change forces are all very well as triumphalist symbolic action pronouncing the new world order, but unless they develop context sensitivity, the triumph may be short-lived and unsustainable. In this sense, a more historical understanding of change theory is a deeply pragmatic project.

Chains of Change

What are being negotiated, at the moment, following the triumphalist period of the free market, are new chains of change.

The chain of change in the post-war period was fairly clearly enunciated. As MacDonald (1991) has noted, internal missions of change were given primacy in the period of initiation and promotion.

> We, the innovators, began under benign and supportive government and saw the problem largely as a technical one, under professional control.

With liberal social democratic governments promoting inclusionary policy, the chain of change from internal affairs to external relations was often harmonized.

The triumphalism following 1989 has ruptured this chain of change, presenting internal agents with a crisis of positionality. Their existing missions of change have been subverted and inverted by a range of externally generated missions of change, over which they have little influence and, hence, little investment or ownership. Change, far from being the favored posture of the progressive educator, has become often unwelcome and alien.

As the triumphalist period comes to an end, more thoughtful external change agents are beginning to re-negotiate the balance of internal and external forces. Once again, in areas such as pedagogy and professionalism, we see internally generated change being sponsored and supported externally. Such 'bottoms-up' change is always likely to be more sustainable and generalisable.

Revisiting the harmonized models of previous periods provides a new chain of change for the future. Let me provide a schema of chains of change as they

may be restated in the future in ways that re-work the relationship of changes to people's own personal missions and projects.

Personal Chains of Change

New models of educational change need to reinstate the balance between the internal affairs, the external relations and the personal perspectives of change. The capacity of internal agents to ***refract*** externally-mandated change is substantial and, with low staff morale and low staff investment, change can remain more symbolic than substantive. If educational change is to move from the realm of triumphalist symbolic action into the realm of substantive changes, in practice and performance, a new balance between personal, internal and external will have to be negotiated. Only then, will the issues of sustainability and of generalisability be fully engaged with and change forces really move forward. Forced changes will then become change forces as the new conditions of change collaboratively engage with the existing contexts of school life.

It is no longer sensible to limit our work on change to internalistic or even externalized models of institutional change. The enduring flaw in these models has always been the degree of disconnection to individuals' personal

projects. In postmodern times, with the salience of individual identity projects, this enduring problem is much exacerbated.

We live in a deregulated world of global business. As a result, social institutions and traditions are dissolving and in the process of reconstitution or destitution. One of the casualties of these colossal changes has been social analysis - which is still searching the dying pattern of social institutions and formations for meaning. Social analysis has become social anatomy or social morphology - searching the dead entrails of organizing for meaning. In a real sense then we have a form of archeology or anatomy presenting itself as social salience.

A good deal of existing change theory, especially in education, is of this archeological sort. Take for instance Hall and Hord's work on *Change in Schools* (1987) includes, somewhat unusually, a concern with the personal, the self-project. But this is rapidly refocused with a concern with the institutional innovation. They list the following 'stages of concern' about innovation:

Informational: A general awareness of the innovation and interest in learning more detail about it is indicated. The person seems to be unworried about himself/herself in relation to the innovation. She/he is interested in

substantive aspects of the innovation in a selfless manner such as general characteristics, effects, and requirements for use.

Personal: Individual is uncertain about the demands of the innovation, his/her inadequacy to meet those demands, and his/her role in relation to the reward structure of the organization, decision making, and consideration of potential conflicts with existing structures or personal commitment. Financial or status implications of the program for self and colleagues may also be reflected.

Management: Attention is focused on the processes and tasks of using the innovation and the best use of information and resources. Issues related to efficiency, organizing, managing, scheduling, and time demands are utmost.

Consequence: Attention focuses on impact of the innovation on student in his/her immediate sphere of influence. The focus is on relevance of the innovation for students, evaluation of student outcomes, including performance and competencies, and changes needed to increase student outcomes.

Collaboration: The focus is on coordination and cooperation with others regarding use of the innovation.

Refocusing: The focus is on exploration of more universal benefits from the innovation, including the possibility of major changes or replacement with a more powerful alternative. Individual has definite ideas about alternatives to the proposed or existing form of the innovation.

What makes this a profoundly modernist model of change is the subordination of the personal project to the institutional. Institutions do endure, but meanwhile life, everyday life, life politics, people's lives - is lived in a new frame. Increasingly, individuals live outside institutional and traditional patterning - they are at once more free yet more bereft. Our social analysis has to relocate then - to the domain of lives, to the domain where the search for meaning is also being conducted. To forge the link between the institutional and the personal, we need to grasp each person's life theme or purpose story. Senge says this about purpose stories as they emerge in interviews with leaders in industry:

> The interviews that I conducted as background for this chapter led to what was, for me, a surprising discovery. Although the three leaders with whom I talked operate in completely different industries - a traditional service business, a traditional manufacturing business, and a high-tech manufacturing business - and although the specifics of their views differed substantially, they each appeared to draw their own inspiration from the same source. Each perceived a deep story and a sense of purpose that

lay behind his vision, what we have come to call the *purpose story* - a larger pattern of becoming' that gives meaning to his personal aspirations and his hopes for their organization. For O'Brien the story has to do with 'the ascent of man'. For Ed Simon, it has to do with 'living in a more creative orientation'. For Ray Stata, it has to do 'with integrating thinking and doing'.

This realization came late one evening, after a very long day with the tape and transcript of one of the interviews. I began to see that these leaders were doing something different from just 'story telling', in the sense of using stories to teach lessons or transmit bits of wisdom. They were relating *the* story - the overarching explanation of why they do what they do, how their organizations need to evolve, and how this evolution is part of something larger. As I reflected back on gifted leaders whom I have known, I realized that this 'larger story' was common to them all, and conversely that many otherwise competent managers in leadership positions were not leaders of the same ilk precisely because they saw no larger story.

The leader's purpose story is both personal and universal. It defines her or his life's work. It ennobles his efforts, yet leaves an abiding humility that keeps him from taking his own successes and failures too seriously. It brings a unique depth of meaning to his vision, a larger landscape upon which his personal dreams and goals stand out as landmarks on a longer journey. But what is most important, this story is central to his *ability to lead.* It places his organization's purpose, its reason for being within a context of 'where we've come from and where we're headed',

> where the 'we' goes beyond the organization itself to humankind more broadly. In this sense, they naturally see their organization as a vehicle for bringing learning and change into society. This is the power of the purpose story - it provides a single integrating set of ideas that gives meaning to all aspects of a leader's work. (Senge, 1995, p.346)

This centrality of inner/personal concerns has been evidenced again and again in studies of institutional life. Sheehy (1981) has argued in her study of innovative individuals that with an outer change of situation, a transformation of work or institutional circumstances 'the process always began with an inner change in their basic approach'. Change then, most often begins with a transformation or people's personal perceptions and projects and flows outwards into the social and institutional.

Hence, it is suitable to give personal change a prime place in our analysis of change - this stands institutional theories of change on their heads. These theories look at how to get people to change in institutions. Our focus is on how people change inside and how that plays out as institutional change.

The chain of change in personal matters follows a common sequence:

PHASES OF THE CREATIVE PROCESS	PHASES OF A SUCCESSFUL PASSAGE
Preparation	**Anticipation**
Gathering impressions and images	Imagining oneself in the next stage of life
Incubation	**Separation and Incubation**
Letting go of certainties	Letting go of an outlived identity
Immersion and Illumination	**Expansion**
Creative intervention - risk	Deliberate intervention in the life conflict - risk
Revision	**Incorporation**
Conscious structuring and editing of creative material	Reflection on and integration of one's new aspects
Dormancy - a creative pause for the replenishment of self	Dormancy - for rest, reward, and play to offset stress of change

(Sheehy, 1981)

Sheehy's work shows how each person is subject to ongoing change and re-negotiation in the manner in which they organize their lives. If people are to bring the crucial disciplines of passion and purpose into their institutional projects then these institutional missions have to reach out and connect with personal missions. (See Fullan 1999, and Hargreaves' emerging work on emotions.) In schools so central is the teachers' role that change theories and projects, which ignore the personal, are bound to end up wide of their target. Change models are required which systematically seek to integrate internal,

external and personal sectors in new chains of change. The final section tentatively defines a model of change that could explore such integration:

Chains of Change

Mission ----------> Institutionalize

Micro-politics ----------> Institutionalized Practices

Memory Work ----------> Communitize

Movement ----------> Generalize

i) Mission: institutionalize

In the new era, a mission of change will be defined and re-negotiated by internal and external agents. This mission will, from the beginning - whilst respecting external change forces - accept that the delivery of change is centrally located in the hands of internal school agents and closely linked to their personal projects and concerns. To succeed, change must be part of their mission. Without internal investment and ownership, change will be both grueling and grudging: not a prescription for sustainability or generalisability. Institutionalization depends, then, on an accepted internal and personal mission, characterized by passion, purpose, investment and 'ownership'.

ii) Micro-politics: institutionalized practices

In negotiating internal missions, the micro-politics of change are central. Change missions have to be embedded in new institutionalized practices. This is the core of the chain of change. The teachers work, their professional labour, their personal concerns and instrument is at the heart of education. To change education is to change the teachers' work and vice versa. The delicate micro-politics of negotiating new professional practices cannot be solely delivered by external mandate and inspection. There must be internal re-negotiation. Such re-negotiation must be handled in painstaking internal micro-politics. Each school has its own instinctive micro-politics, just as each school has its own ecology. To trample in the 'secret garden' of the school is a very dangerous process, best left to those who know its ecology. This should not be read as allowing each school 'to do their own thing'. New missions have been defined. The issue is how to ensure institutionalized practices are defined and accepted which follow new change missions.

iii) Memory Work: communitize

A good deal of the negotiation of change involves confronting existing memory of schools and school practices. These memories of what constitute 'school', 'subjects', 'teaching', besides residing in internal agents' minds, are crucially and historically embedded in the wider community.

Perhaps the most neglected aspect of change theory is to need to develop community awareness of new reforms. In the post-war period, the coalition of professionals and government often preceded without due

cognizance of local community opinion or the new change dispensation. The community will need to be involved in the definition and negotiation of reform initiatives.

iv) Movement: generalize

Chains of change are perhaps viewed as small-scale social movements. New missions are defined practices, initiated, supporters mobilized and, finally, coalitions formed. In past periods, progressive schools have often formed coalitions of other like-minded schools. Acknowledgment of the social movement characterization of change forces would develop the capacity to sustain and generalize change missions across the internal, external and personal sectors.

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